97-84042-18

De Leon, Daniel

Father Gassoniana, or, Jesuit "sociology"...

New York

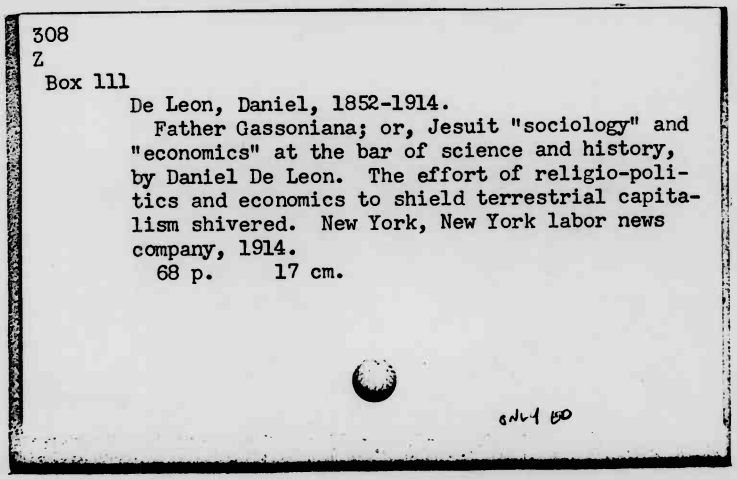
1914

97-84042-18
MASTER NEGATIVE #

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
PRESERVATION DIVISION

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

ORIGINAL MATERIAL AS FILMED - EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD


308
Z
Box 111
De Leon, Daniel, 1852-1914.
Father Gassoniana; or, Jesuit "sociology" and "economics" at the bar of science and history, by Daniel De Leon. The effort of religio-politics and economics to shield terrestrial capitalism shivered. New York, New York labor news company, 1914.
68 p. 17 cm.

RESTRICTIONS ON USE: Reproductions may not be made without permission from Columbia University Libraries.

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35 mm REDUCTION RATIO: 9:1 IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 3-6-97 INITIALS: RB

TRACKING # : 22426

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

Father-Gassoniana

OR

Jesuit "Sociology" and "Economics"
At the Bar of Science and History

BY DANIEL DE LEON
Editor of Daily People

308
Z
.D2
111

The Effort of
Religio-Politics and
Economics to Shield
Terrestrial Capitalism
Shivered

Published by the
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS
COMPANY
45 ROSE STREET
New York City
1911

PRICE
FIFTEEN
CENTS

Father Gassoniana

OR

Jesuit "Sociology" and "Economics" at the Bar of Science and History

By DANIEL DE LEON

The Effort of Religio-Politics and Economics to Shield Terrestrial Capitalism Shivered

---

Published by the
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
45 ROSE STREET
NEW YORK
1914

Gift of
P. F. Bussandin
6-19-23

M. E. L. July 10, '23.

INDEX TO SUBJECTS.

To the Reader.
Introduction.
"Gratuitousness" of Clerical Services..... 2
Is "Socialism" a Shifting Name..... 4
Correct and Incorrect Reasoning..... 6
Logic of Socialist Propaganda..... 9
Infidel or Turk.....12
"Shutting the Barn Door After the Horse Has Been Stolen" 14
Human Nature.....19
Evils of Capitalism Inherent.....22
Individual Incentive.....25
The Church's Championship of Labor.....28
Struggle as a Character-Builder.....32
Failure of Roman Catholic Polity.....35
Roman Catholic Hierarchy a Political Not a Religious Force 39
Abolition, Not Lessening of Poverty.....45
Competition and Emulation.....47
The State 51
Materialist Conception of History.....54
Marriage 59
Socialism 63

TO THE READER

Socialism is continually being accused in some quarters with "attacking religion." Whenever this charge is closely investigated it will invariably be found that it is not Socialism which attacks religion, but that politics, ambushed behind religion, attacks Socialism; and when grabbed as such, sets up the howl that "religion is being attacked!"

As a concrete example of this studied policy of the politico-religios against Socialism we present herewith this work entitled, "Father-Gassoniana."

The Rev. Father Gasson, a leading Jesuit Father, was featured in Boston, last February, as the deliverer of an address against Socialism. The address was extensively circulated as a demolisher of Socialism by religion. Socialism, in a series of editorials in the Daily People (New York), official organ of the Socialist Labor Party, takes up that alleged religion of the Jesuit Father, practically sentence by sentence, and shows that Economics and Sociology, and not religion, are the pronouncement of the Father—Economics and Sociology of the Dark Ages at that.

The series of articles from the Daily People, nineteen in number, cover the subject completely. They are here presented to the judgment of the reader.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.

November, 1911.

INTRODUCTION.

At least a score of clippings of the Boston "Post" of February 6, containing a report of an address against Socialism delivered by the Jesuit Father Thomas I. Gasson, have reached this office in the course of the last two weeks. Most of the clippings came accompanied with some humorous remark or other; with two of them the remarks were not humorous; in these instances the senders were terribly in earnest. One nervously hoped that "the un-Godly teachings of Socialism are nailed"; the other, as nervously hoped that we would "learn something, and stop flying in the face of God." Both, with tell-tale inconsistency, challenge refutation. We shall accommodate these fluttering souls.

The points scored by Father Gasson fall under two heads —concrete faults found with Socialism, and assertions of a general nature, or of the nature of general and fundamental principles. These will all be taken up seriatim in successive weeks. Obviously, the points of a general nature must be allowed precedence: upon the soundness or unsoundness of these depends, to a considerable extent, the solidity or hollowness, of most, if not all, the concrete points raised against Socialism.

I.

"GRATUITOUSNESS" OF CLERICAL SERVICES.

Conceding at the opening of his address that Socialism is interested in the welfare of humanity, Father Gasson proceeds to say:

"I belong to one of the religious orders of the church, and *we receive nothing for our services.* Therefore, I am in hearty sympathy with that aim of Socialism."

The sentence contains a serious misconception of facts.

So far from Father Gasson receiving nothing for his services, the gentleman—that is, taking him as a sample of the orders that he speaks of,—is the recipient of what, to large masses of the population of the civilized world, would amount to a bounteous material gift. Even if Father Gasson's picture did not accompany the report of his oration, the knowledge of the church orders possessed by every man of observation and education conveys the information that the members of these orders are no ragged starvelings. The picture of the orator published by the Boston "Post" removes all possible doubt on that head.

Father Gasson receives for his services three square meals, at least; he receives for his services the necessary clothing, heavy in winter, light in summer; he receives for his services a good bed, hard or soft, according as health

may dictate; he receives for his services shelter over head. In short, Father Gasson receives for his services the necessaries wherewith to live. That alone would be, as all scientific investigation establishes, an amount of material acquisitions above those enjoyed by the average workingman.

Furthermore, the amount of these material things, received by Father Gasson for his services, embraces another remuneration. Man does not "lay by" but against a rainy day—a day of illness, or of out-of-work. This is the spring of hoarding, of economy, of miserliness. Seeing that the average workingman does not receive for his fitful work as much as Father Gasson does for his steady employment; seeing that, accordingly, the Specter of Want dogs the heels of the average worker; it follows that Father Gasson receives for his services a volume of material goods that drives the dread Specter from his side and leaves his mind at ease.

So serious is the misconception of facts involved in Father Gasson's statement, to the effect that he receives nothing for his services, that it disqualifies him from logical and precise thinking upon the field of economics. The misconception of fact renders the Father inaccessible to the philosophy of the lesson taught in all languages, all of which, backed by popular experience, have some adage or other to the effect that "man speaks as his bread is buttered"; hence, the misconception of facts disables Father Gasson—we believe the gentleman sincere—from that healthy exercise of the well poised mind, INTROSPECTION, with the aid of which Father Gasson would understand himself, and would catch the note of the voice that issues from the stale bread and rancid butter that speaks through him.

II.

IS "SOCIALISM" A SHIFTING NAME?

The second of the general statements, made by Father Thomas I. Gasson in his anti-Socialist address, delivered in Boston on February 5, that requires preliminary handling, is the statement that "Socialism is rather a shifting name." The context of the passage in which the statement occurs implies that a critic of Socialism has so shadowy a subject to operate on that he must be excused if the "Socialism" he objects to is not the "Socialism" that others hold dear.

This reasoning is vicious. It consists in applying a principle, applicable enough to a certain order of facts, to an order of facts to which the principle is inapplicable. For instance:

The serious man, who would treat of the Roman Catholic Church, is expected to approach his subject equipped with a fund of information sufficient to distinguish between incidentals and essentials, and with a mental training that will enable him so to distinguish. Such a man will not pronounce "Roman Catholicism" a "shifting name" however numerous the instances of the name's being applied to different and even opposite thoughts and acts. Such a man will not be confused by the fact that there were once two rival popes, with their respective warring Roman Catholic supporters; such a man will see nothing "shifting" in the fact that history records bloody wars between Catholic countries, with Roman Catholic prelates in the opposing armies, each set blessing the arms of its

own and imploring the destruction of the opposite army "for the greater glory of the Roman Catholic Church"; such a man will not be puzzled at the sight, seen only twenty-five years ago in this country, of one set of Roman Catholics denouncing and another set extolling Father Edward McGlynn; such a man will not be blinded at the recent spectacle of Roman Catholics chasing nuns and friars out of Portugal, while at the same time Roman Catholic organizations in America were denouncing the deed; the sight of one set of Roman Catholics in America anathematizing, as Roman Catholics, the American non-sectarian system of Public Schools, while another set, likewise as Roman Catholics, enthusiastically praises the system, will not dethrone such a man's judgment. A mentally well equipped and serious man will not allow such superficial phenomena to cause him to be set at sea with regard to the Roman Catholic Church. His knowledge of facts and his analytic mind will cause him to distinguish between authoritative and unauthoritative statements. He will recognize the Roman Catholic Church as a clear cut distinct political organism, in all essentials unaffected by what is designated in natural science with the technical term of "freak manifestations."

Identically with Socialism——

A serious, well trained and well posted man, who undertakes to treat of Socialism, knows he has no shadowy subject, but a very concrete and well defined one in hand. Being well posted, such a man will not be affected by the freedom exercised in numerous quarters with the name of Socialism. He will know to distinguish between authoritative and "freak" utterances and acts. He will know

more. He will know that authoritative Socialist literature —authoritative because flowing from the organized International Movement to which alone "Socialism" owes its standing—is ample and vast, yet, despite the various shades of opinion that such vastness breeds, has but one central and dominant feature.

The order of facts, to which Father Gasson's reasoning of calling Socialism "a shifting name" applies, is not the order of facts to which Socialism belongs. The order of facts to which Socialism belongs is the scientific order of facts—hence everything but an order of facts from which shifting names flow—as the uphill efforts of Father Gasson's organization to combat Socialism sufficiently prove. No serious man fights spooks.

III.

CORRECT AND INCORRECT REASONING.

Among the general principles with which the Jesuit Father Thomas I. Gasson combated Socialism in his February 5 Boston address, one is embodied in this sentence:

"Taking the teachings of leaders of many of the Socialist programmes, who teach that, except in mathematics, that all laws are changeable, that teaching is dangerous to the nation."

We shall not be hard enough upon Father Gasson to put him to his proof. The Rev. Father would find it hard to lay his hands upon any authoritative Socialist utterance made in any such sweeping language. Socialism, being a science, is planted upon facts, hence is careful and precise

in its utterances. What Father Gasson may have come across in some Socialist work or other is the view, shared by all sociologists of standing, to the effect that social laws are not, like mathematics, unchangeable, but change along with changed conditions. Waiving, accordingly, the technical right of charging Father Gasson with misquoting, and giving him credit for having meant to quote Socialist writers correctly, his estimate of such Socialist teachings places him outside the pale of scientific reasoning.

Social science does not, primarily, inquire whether a certain teaching is "dangerous to the nation," or not. Social science inquires, primarily, whether a certain teaching "is true or false." Only after the truth, or falsity, of a certain teaching has been established does social science utter itself upon the teaching's dangerousness, or beneficence, to the nation—pronouncing the teaching dangerous, if false; beneficent, if true.

The method of social science eliminates the complexities of private interests. Personal views regarding the dangerousness or beneficence of teachings, or other things, are apt to be echoes of material and, therefore, conflicting sentiments. Even Roman Catholic prelates, when serious errors of individual clericals are mentioned, explain the errors on the score of the human weakness of the clericals concerned. If prelates, people who claim ex-officio sanctity, can succumb to their personal and material interests, the rest of humanity can surely not be deemed immune to the temptation. Social science takes cognizance of the fact; it relegates the question of a teaching being beneficent or dangerous to the second rank, and makes these views bow to the question of first rank—the truth or fals-

ity of the teaching. Father Gasson reverses the process, with the consequence of rendering his reasoning worthless. Into what entanglements the Father's method lead those who adopt it the Father's own words illustrate:—

Father Gasson stood forth on the Boston occasion as the paladin of a number of good things, the Nation among others. Socialism he opposed as a menace, as a threat to, as subversive of these good things, among them, the Nation. These good things, the Nation among them, Father Gasson wanted to save. And yet, as a consequence of his rejecting the scientific method of first inquiring into the truth, or falsity, of a teaching, and his pursuing his own method of starting from the notion which his private interests suggest to him regarding the dangerousness or beneficence of the Socialist teaching concerning the mutability of social laws, Father Gasson strikes a posture that is glaringly subversive of the Nation, of one of the very things he is out to save.

One clause above all others typifies this Nation's Constitution. That clause is the one that provides for amendments. Other Nations have had Presidents; other Nations have had Congresses; other Nations have had judiciaries, etc., etc.; but no Nation, before the United States, ever provided in its own organic law for the method of changing that law, and all other laws that flowed from it. The United States was the first Nation that recognized the mutability of social laws and institutions, and imbedded the principle in its supreme chart.

By declaring that the teaching of the changeableness of social laws is a teaching "dangerous to the Nation" Father Gasson places himself in the droll posture of bucking

against the typical feature of the Nation that he seeks to preserve—and the good man seems blissfully unconscious of the drollness of his posture.

IV.

LOGIC OF SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA.

Walt Whitman is said to have answered a quizzer on a certain occasion: "Do I contradict myself? Well, then, I contradict myself." The retort is legitimate on the lips of a poet, especially a "pathfinder poet." Logic is not the specialty of such minds; preciseness of expression is not their characteristic. The very charm of their performances lies in their butterfly-like erratic course. Otherwise with the statesman, he who undertakes to handle social questions, and formulate canons by which society is to be ruled. The latter is the posture assumed by Father Thomas I. Gasson in his anti-Socialist Boston address of February 5th. Walt Whitman's retort is barred from such a posture. Contradiction is fatal to the statesman's reasoning. It is a case of self-rout. And this is the plight of Father Gasson.

In the address aforenamed, Father Gasson—whether quoting Socialism correctly or not matters not just now; that will be considered in due time;—stated the purpose of Socialism to be the placing of "the ownership of production and distribution of all goods in the hands of one body, the State," and he condemned the purpose as an unqualified evil. Father Gasson branded Socialism as "immoral." Father Gasson stigmatized Socialism as "un-Godly."

Father Gasson frowned upon Socialism as a perverter of manhood and womanhood. In short, Father Gasson's presentation of Socialism was that of a sort of pestilence—none the less a pestilence because of the good intentions of some of its misguided apostles.

If all this is so, the only logical conclusion admissible is that no good man or woman, if intelligent, no intelligent woman or man, if good, ever was, is, or could (world without end!) be a Socialist. And those declarations he made as a spokesman of the Roman Catholic Church. All this notwithstanding, Father Gasson declared, in the same breath, that "if every man and woman was perfectly made and every man and woman was of the highest character and intended to live for others then we might possibly come to a Socialistic world." The two sets of pronouncements are violently at fisticuffs with each other. They involve the Father in a double contradiction.

First of all, a teaching that poisons manhood and womanhood; a teaching that is an unqualified evil; a teaching that is impious; a teaching that, in short, is inherently a pestilence;—such a teaching cannot possibly ever be a working system for "perfectly made" men and women, and for men and women of "the highest character." On the contrary, in the exact measure that men and women reached perfection and highest character they would spurn such teachings. Either Socialism is the thing worthy of anathema that Father Gasson thinks it is—and then no "perfectly made" man and woman, or woman and man of "the highest character" would touch it with a pair of tongs; or, only men and women "perfectly made" and of "the highest character" are fit for Socialism—in which

case Socialism could not possibly be the pestilential thing that Father Gasson makes it out to be.

Secondly, if the circumstance of a teaching's being fit only for men and women "perfectly made" and of "the highest character," and the further circumstance that, so far from all men and women being of that high type, the large majority of them are "quite otherwise and to the contrary,"—if these combined circumstances are a justification for opposing such teachings, for even fighting them "tooth and nail," as another dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church recently declared his policy to be towards Socialism, by what title in Common Sense does Father Gasson preach, to an admittedly unregenerate world, the teachings of Roman Catholic Christianity, held by him as the ideal? One of two things: either the preachings of Roman Catholic Christianity to a sinful world is the proper thing to do—and then the promulgation of teachings acceptable to "perfectly made" men and women, and of "the highest character" is a commendable act on the part of Socialists; or, the teaching of Socialism to a generation of men and women that are far from "perfectly made," or of the "highest character," is censurable—in which case Father Gasson, devoted as he indicates he is to teaching what he holds ideal, Roman Catholic Christianity, to a world composed of sinners mainly, puts the extinguisher upon himself.

Father Gasson is self-impaled on one horn or other of the dilemma. Such are the wages of false reasoning.

V.

INFIDEL OR TURK?

"We are all one before the law and in the sight of the Almighty, but are we all equal in regard to strength of body, of mind? Do we all have the same attractive manner or possess agility?"

The above is the fifth of the general principles advanced against Socialism, as a practical proposition, by the Jesuit Father Thomas I. Gasson in his last February 5th address in Boston.

Father Gasson says either too little, or he says too much:—

If the sentence means that, because of the obvious inequalities between men, the more favored are entitled to lord it over the less favored—then he says too much.

If the sentence means that, because of the said inequality, there is left nothing to do but to bow down, and to be lorded, or to suffer others to be lorded—then he says too little.

If the former is the meaning of the sentence, then Father Gasson proclaims himself less charitable than the infidel John Stuart Mill. "I leave aside," said Mill, "the propriety, or wisdom, of rewarding bountifully the racer who reaches the goal first, and leaving the rest out in the cold. But I can see neither wisdom nor propriety in a system, which, besides bountifully rewarding the winner in a race, administers lashes on the backs of the losers."

If the latter is the meaning of the sentence, then Father

Gasson confesses himself a Turk, a Mohammedan fatalist, who—forgetful of the favorite maxim of Joan of Arc, now beatified by the Roman Catholic Church, "God helps those who help themselves"—spinelessly submits to any visitation of Nature or Man as "the will of God."

Whatever the meaning may be, whether the first or the second, of Father Gasson's general principle, it goes to pieces upon the rock of the Declaration of Independence, a "great divide" in the annals of the human race.

The Declaration of Independence was no idiot's work. The very endeavors to deprive Thomas Jefferson of the glory of having produced it, and to trace it to a variety of other sources, proves it the product of its Age—the product of its Age's experience and learning, coupled with the virgin conditions offered in the land in which it was put together. Seriously to cite human physical inequalities as an argument against that social proclamation of man's "equality" is of the nature of an "Irish bull." Where no such innocent nonsense marks the criticism the criticism is a Jesuitic twist.

The standard set up by the Declaration of Independence is the standard that turns down and nails down an old page, and opens a new in social polity. The old was typified by its individualistic ancestry. The new was marked with the loftiness that comes from knowledge. Greatly freed by experience from the trammels of individualism, collective society in America assumed the duty of guaranteeing to the individual a free field—EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITIES.

The equality of opportunities, which the American Revolution proclaimed, has not been realized. Material de-

velopments, unforeseen by most of the Revolutionary Fathers, arose to block its realization. That mattered not. Though Columbus, sailing westward in the expectation to strike the eastern coasts of Asia, found the realization of his purpose blocked by the continent of the Western Hemisphere, stretched across his path, the scientific principle, first grasped by him and that he started from, was not blunted, let alone abandoned. It remained in full force, a guide and spur to others. So with the principle of the American Revolution proclaiming "equality of opportunities" as a standard of civilized society. Though blocked it has remained a vital force, propelling Socialism. Other navigators, the successors of Columbus, sailing westward, realized his scientific expectations. The goal that the American Revolution was prevented from reaching, its successor, the Socialist Revolution, proposes to attain.

The fifth general principle that Father Gasson advances against Socialism, is, in fact, leveled at the American Revolution. It is, accordingly, a principle that seeks to fight civilization—a puerile if not a dullard's attempt.

VI.

"SHUTTING THE BARN DOOR AFTER THE HORSE HAS BEEN STOLEN."

A sixth general principle, set up by Father Thomas I. Gasson in his February 5 Boston address, and tested by which principle Socialism was pronounced a menace to the Nation is embodied in the passage "unless the bond of

matrimony is regarded as sacred . . . the Nation will inevitably go to pieces."

Leaving for a later occasion—when the concrete charges advanced by Father Gasson against concrete features of Socialism shall be treated—the handling of the question of marriage, and sticking, for the present to the inquiry of general principle, only the general principle embodied in the above passage will be here considered.

Remembering that Father Gasson is a member of the Roman Catholic organization, and speaks as such, when the Father advances the principle that the bond of matrimony is sacred we are justified to go "beyond the record," beyond the passages of his address reported in quotation marks by the Boston "Post." Considering, accordingly, that the Roman Catholic organization takes an emphatic stand, not against the looseness of divorce merely, but against divorce itself, Father Gasson's principle concerning the "sacredness" of the marriage bond must mean the principle of the bond's indissolubleness. Combining all this, it follows that the passage cited from Father Gasson's address amounts—at least among other things—to saying: "Unless the bond of matrimony is regarded as indissoluble, the nation will inevitably go to pieces."

The utterance places Father Gasson and his organization in a succession of lights unenviable.

Only quite recently, within a week after Father Gasson's address, we were all reminded, on the occasion of the sale of Mark Twain's library, that the bond of matrimony was not considered sacred, hence indissoluble, by foremost apostles of original Roman Catholicism. The reminder came forcibly owing to a marginal notation—

"atrocious scoundrel"—inserted by Mark Twain on page 82 of Samuel Clarke's "Mirror or Looking Glass, Both for Saints and Sinners," at the margin of the passage which reported St. Saturus as saying he was resolved to forsake his wife, children, home, etc., for the love of Christ. The incident recalled numberless other Saints who gave vent to and put into practise the principle of St. Saturus. It it not to be supposed that pillars of an organization, cannonized pillars, at that, will misrepresent their Founder. He can not be supposed to inspire impious sentiments, nor can his love be supposed to be gainable by the impiousness implied in the act of snapping, of dissolving, a bond that is sacred. The principle of the "indissolubleness of the bond of matrimony" is, according to the history of Father Gasson's own organization, far from being the sweeping principle which his words would make it out to be. Seeing, moreover, that "partial sacredness" is a contradiction in terms—a thing is either "sacred," or it is not, —Father Gasson is at war with the annals of his own organization which make practical denial of the "sacredness" of the bond of matrimony.

Leaving Father Gasson to square himself with his own organization, his posture is still more infelicitous when looked at from another angle of view, an angle of view with which society is more deeply concerned. It is not as a theologic tenet that Father Gasson advances the general principle that the bond of matrimony is indissoluble, sacred, as he words it. He advances the tenet strictly as one sociologic. His application of the principle leaves no doubt on that point. He applies the principle to the stability of the terrestrial thing, a Nation. None can choose

but go to pieces, he warns, which regards the bond of matrimony as dissoluble. If to regard as indissoluble the bond of matrimony is the elixir of life to a Nation, then the historic fact remains a mystery of so many Nations having gone down in the ages [history calls it Dark Ages] during which Father Gasson's organization held undisputed sway, and his sociologic principle concerning the "sacredness of the bond of matrimony" was "the law of the land." How account for the downfall of the Holy Roman Empire? How account for the present torn-to-pieces condition of that watchdog of Catholicity, the former Kingdom of Poland? Coming down to more modern days, how account for the downfall—from Scotland south to Italy, from Scandinavia across to France, and now Portugal also, closely to be followed by Spain,—of the one-time powerful Roman Catholic political scepters one-time seated in those countries? Despite the alleged elixir of a Nation's life and stability—Father Gasson's principle concerning the indissolubleness of the bond of matrimony—one after another these Roman Catholic "Nations" fell to pieces. There must be some serious flaw in Father Gasson's sociology.

But there is still a third angle of view—an angle of view of keen interest to the overwhelming majority of the people of the Nation—looked at from which Father Gasson fares even worse.

It was as a conservative patriot, as the patriotic custodian of this Nation, it was as a buckler against the menace to this Nation of the alleged "Socialistic doctrine" regarding the non-sacredness, or dissolubleness, of the marriage bond that Father Gasson took the rostrum in Boston. To oppose a threatened "evil" means that the Nation is yet

free from the "evil." Now, then, it so happens that a cornerstone of this country's institutions is the denial of the "sacredness," that is, the sacramental nature of marriage. It is a national principle with this Nation that marriage is a "contract," binding as such, hence the condemnation of adultery; but, as such, dissoluble, hence the provisions for divorce. Whether the principle be an evil or not is here beside the question. Fact is that principle—evil or good—is, since the Nation's birth, imbedded in the Nation's life as one of its institutions; and surely enough, the Nation is not yet Socialist. The alleged evil is, accordingly, if at all a menace, no menace from without. To fight such an evil as a "menace fraught in Socialism" very much partakes of the nature of shutting the barn after the horse has been stolen. Yet the buffoonery of such a polity is of secondary consideration only. Interesting as a stray light upon Father-Gassonism as may be the ridicule to which its posture drives it, there is a feature of the thing that is of vastly greater moment. It may be, we believe it is, patriotism that animates Father-Gassonism. But that "patriotism" is one qualified with the Jesuit principle of "mental reservation." It is a patriotism in behalf of another "patria," in behalf of another sovereignty than that of the United States. The substitution of the papacy's terrestrial and universal empire's cardinal polity that matrimony is a "sacrament," for the United States cardinal polity that matrimony is a "contract," means the downfall of this Nation and the raising of another on its ruins. It means revolution, and revolution, though, as Socialism holds, it may be eminently patriotic, is the badge of RADICALISM not of CONSERVATISM.

The flaws in the two aspects above considered of Father Gasson's sixth general principle, serious though they are, are not a circumstance beside the flaw in this third aspect. Combined, the flaws dispose of the general principle as hollow, false—and misleading.

VII.

HUMAN NATURE.

"As long as men and women are constituted as they are there must be evils."

This general principle, stated by Father Thomas I. Gasson in his Boston address on February 5th as a general principle that makes against Socialism, has, in a way, been grazed by the fourth article of this series. The specific point involved in this specific sentence is another phrasing for the argument of "human nature"—"you will have to change human nature before it will accept Socialism."

What is "human nature"?

A simple example will illustrate the article.

Take a young lady on whose velvety chin a flea has alighted. How will "human nature" conduct itself in such a case?

That depends.

If the "molders" of the young lady's opinion—press, pulpit, professors and political orators—promulgate a theory to the effect that the black spot on her chin is a beauty spot; if her professors of natural science learnedly discourse upon the difference between that "beauty spot" and cancerspots, whereas the latter, drawing their existence

from a pre-disposition to disease, lead straight to death, the former, being the external manifestation of internal attractiveness, adds to her charms, hence, promotes her happiness; if the political orators, whom to hear the inducement is offered her of private boxes at Carnegie Halls, dispense eloquent orations upon the pre-eminence of the "American Girl," and, pointedly alluding to her, sing her praises, upon the strength of that "beauty spot," as the type of "American Beauty"; if from the pulpit, set up in the church whither she takes on exhibition the latest marvels of the millinery art, the parson, looking straight at her, adds to the rosary of beatitudes a new one: "Blessed are the bearers of beauty spots, for they shall be greatly admired"; if the morning and evening editions of the papers that she is inveigled into reading publish stenographic reports of the above learned lectures, eloquent orations and pious sermons, and supplement them with numberless others which she has no chance to hear, but all of which are pivoted upon the purpose of causing her to believe that the flea on her chin is a spot of dazzling beauty; —in such a case, "human nature" will, in all likelihood, cause the young lady to nurse the black spot and carefully to guard it against harm. "Human nature," in such a case, will probably go further. It will cause the young lady to spurn as "unscientific"; indignantly to reject as "unpatriotic"; piously to condemn as "un-Godly" whomsoever would utter anything however remotely suggestive of the idea that the alleged beauty spot was nothing of the kind. According to the young lady's temperament and length of nails the dissenters from the theory pounded into her would fare more or less ill. None would fare well;

and their tracts would be consigned to the stove.—Such, under such circumstances, would be the conduct of "human nature."

Now, watch the identical young lady the instant she discovers that the supposed "beauty spot" is a miserable parasite, which, so far from adding to, only undermines her charms by feeding on her blood. That instant she will take the unclean insect between two nails and nip out its harmful existence.—Such also would be the conduct of "human nature."

Are there, then, two "human natures"? No; there is but one. In both instances it is the identical human nature, the identical motive force in action. The identical motive force of wishing to charm, and which, under the belief that the flea was a beauty spot, endeared the parasite to the young lady,—that identical motive force, once enlightened upon the facts, aroused the young lady's deadly hatred against the formerly cherished "beauty spot." The "human nature" remained the same. The difference lay in the Intellect—dethroned by false teachings in the former, enthroned by correct teachings in the latter instance.

Satirizing the canting Puritanism of his generation, the author of Hudibras summed up its theories with the distich—it acted

> As if theology had catched
> The itch on purpose to be scratched.

The biologico-sociologic concept embodied in the seventh general principle taken from Father Gasson's Boston address is that of a human race, crippled in perpetuity, on purpose to justify the existence of evils.

Men and women need not be reconstituted in order to prevent the evils that now afflict society. What needs to be done is to enthrone the Intellect, dethroned by false teaching, and lying prone with the majority of men and women.

The "human nature" argument in support of things as they are, and in refutation of Socialism, is a plain case of begging the question. How plain the case is may be gathered from the nervous activity of the Fathers Gasson. Human nature is unalterable. If Human Nature blocks the path of Socialism, why not leave the job to Human Nature?

VIII.

EVILS OF CAPITALISM INHERENT.

"No capitalist should fail to give the toilers a wage which would enable the toiler to live in decent circumstances," is a passage, quoted by Father Thomas I. Gasson in his Boston anti-Socialist address, from an encyclical letter issued by Pope Leo XIII. And Father Gasson introduces the quotation with his own opinion, "dwelt upon with force," that labor should not be allowed to be treated as a "bale of merchandise."

The opinion and the quotation are in the nature of a further general principle to prove that Socialism is in error when it demands the overthrow of Capitalism. The general principle is that the evils complained of in Capitalism are not inherent, but remediable.

Let Capitalism speak for itself:—

Without exception the capitalist authorities on Capitalism emphasize the economic mission and virtue of their social

system to be the cheapening of goods. It matters not at this stage of the discussion that these authorities suppress the fact that the "cheapening" redounds to the benefit of the capitalist, not of Labor. The capitalists' contention regarding the "cheapening" achievements is true. They demonstrate the fact with proofs innumerable, unnecessary. Without exception the capitalist authorities on Capitalism pronounce the biologic principle of the survival of the fittest a vital principle latent in their social system. Construing these two features together the conclusion is that the fittest is he who can produce cheapest, and that only he survives—and proud are the capitalist authorities thereat.

Among the factors, used by the capitalist in production, is labor-power. Again construing this fact, together with the conclusion just arrived at, the further conclusion is that only that capitalist is fittest, only he can survive, who pays the lowest price, that is wage, for his labor-power.

That is Capitalism. To say, as Pope Leo XIII does, "capitalist" and "wage," and, in the same breath, to say the toiler should be given enough "to live in decent circumstances" is a contradictory thought. The social system, under which "the toiler is given a share of his product on which to enable him to live in decent circumstances," would be substantially the social system which Jesuit Fathers attempted, about two hundred years ago, to set up in Paraguay, in their benevolent attempt to practice the Republic of Plato in that country; it would be a repetition of the equally benevolent Protestant community of Rappites on the Wabash. These systems may, or

may not, be superior to Socialism. That is not now the question. Capitalism they are not—from bottom up, and from top down, they are non-capitalist, they are anti-capitalist. Their introduction means the overthrow of Capitalism.

Taking another order of capitalist authorities on Capitalism—without exception they use the term "Labor-Market." By all the canons of philology such a term implies the merchandise feature of the thing that designates the market. On the identical principle that the term "Cattle-Market" indicates that cattle is a merchandise; on the identical principle that the term "Money-Market" indicates that money is a merchandise; on the identical principle that the term "Hay-Market" indicates that bales of hay are merchandise;—on that identical principle the term "Labor-Market" indicates that Labor is a merchandise, either "on the hoof," like cattle; or in bales, like hay.

Such are the facts, not the fancies. To do, as Father Gasson does, take the stump for Capitalism, and, in the same act, "dwell with force" on "not allowing Labor to be treated as a bale of merchandise" is to kick to pieces the very platform on which he takes his stand.

Whosoever advocates Capitalism, and yet demands that the workingman be well paid and be not allowed to be treated as a bale of merchandise, cuts, on the field of sociology, a figure no less ridiculous, not to say suspicious, than he would cut on the field of zoology if he praised a tiger, and yet sought to make people believe that the beast could be made to bleat like a lamb, and to delight in sugared water, instead of in red, hot blood fresh from the gashes it inflicts.

On page 31, G. P. Putnam's Sons' edition, of that, on its field, modern epochmaking pronouncement, "The Programme of Modernism," issued by the brightest intellects among the Roman Catholic prelates, and the most pious, withal, in criticism and condemnation of the reactionary and anti-democratic posture of the papacy, these good and learned men demonstrate the "philological and critical incompetence" of the ruling cardinals, their "unscientific conception of the Bible" and the "depths of ignorance" that they exhibit in the utterances that issue from the Vatican on clerical matters. If the princes of the Roman Catholic hierarchy have so declined in the scale of knowledge on matters directly within their own province, small wonder that, on economics, a province foreign to them, from Father Gasson up their incompetence exhibits itself so shocking; their lack of scientific grasp so glaring; and the depths of their ignorance so unfathomable.

IX.

INDIVIDUAL INCENTIVE.

A ninth general principle, advanced by Father Thomas I. Gasson in his Boston address, and upon the strength of which he opposes Socialism, is that the present social system, of which the Father is an apostle, promotes, cultivates and safeguards individual incentive to useful labor. Father Gasson does not formulate the principle in precisely these words. Yet he indicates the principle with sufficient precision when he states that "you would take away the great incentive of human energy" if Socialism were to prevail.

Socialism may or may not "take away the great incentive of human energy." We are not yet at that stage of this discussion to consider that aspect of the issue. It will come in due time. At present we are concerned, as a preliminary, with Father Gasson's assertions and premises of a general nature.

It is not true that the present social system promotes, cultivates and safeguards individual incentive. The opposite is true.

In the capitalist social system production is undertaken, not for the fun of the thing, but for sale. It is the prospect of sales that moves the capitalist—sales for which there are orders received, or sales for which he expects orders. Has he such orders, or has he expectations of receiving any, the capitalist starts his plant; has he no orders, and no expectations of any, then he shuts down, tight as a clam. What effect has such a state of things upon the incentive of the workingman to exert his human energy? The answer can be illustrated in figures.

Say, the employer is a shoe manufacturer, and employs 100 hands. Say he has, or expects orders for 100,000 pairs of shoes. Finally, say, that the regulation average daily output per hand is 10 pairs of shoes. Under this supposition we would have the following results:—The 100 hands would be turning out 1,000 pairs of shoes a day, and the 100,000 order would be filled in 100 days. At the expiration of that period, no further orders coming, or being anticipated, the 100 hands would be "laid off."

Is it human to expect of these 100 men that they should exert themselves? Suppose they did, what would happen?

If they exert themselves to the extent of producing 15 pairs of shoes a day, the consequence would be that the order would be filled within 67 days, and their jobs ended.

If they exert themselves to the extent of producing 20 pairs of shoes a day, the consequence would be that the order would be filled in 50 days.

If they put on still more steam and turn out 25 pairs of shoes a day, the order would be filled in 40 days.

In other words—the harder the men work all the sooner will they throw themselves out of work.

From this presentation it is evident that the shoemakers in question would be the veriest lunkheads if they exerted themselves to their best. So far from there being any incentive for them to do so, the incentive is all the other way. Not only will they not "put on steam," they will "let up." Seeing that the harder they work, all the sooner will they be breadless, they will work as slowly as they can manage, and thus put off the day, certain to come, when, there being no orders, and none in sight, the factory will shut down, and enforced idleness afflict them.

The above illustration condenses in a nutshell the manner of capitalism. Enforced idleness, want and starvation being the reward of exertion to do one's best, the "great incentive of human energy" is, instead of promoted, disturbed; instead of cultivated, injured; instead of safeguarded, punished.

Is, then, Father Gasson's theory wholly without foundation? Is there no human energy at all that capitalism incites, promotes, cultivates and safeguards? Yes, there is one—the human energy, which, planted upon the knowledge of the presentation made above, and, perverted by the teachings of capitalist professors, politicians and pulpiteers,

concludes that society is hopelessly a jungle where, either you "do" others, or you will be "done" by them, and, consequently, exerts itself to its utmost to earn its spurs among the "doers" and thus escape affiliation with the "done."

The capitalist social system nips in the bud "the great incentive of human nature" from developing in the right direction, and lashes it in the wrong—a mathematically demonstrable proposition.

What Goethe pithily calls "der Hexen Einmal Eins" (the witches' multiplication table), wherever else it may "go down," has no standing in Science.

X.

THE CHURCH'S CHAMPIONSHIP OF LABOR.

A tenth proposition of a general nature, advanced by Father Thomas I. Gasson in his anti-Socialist address delivered in Boston on February 5, was that "it is a matter of history that the clergy, as a rule, have championed the cause of Labor." This proposition, which, taken in its context, correctly implies that the clergy, as a rule, is at daggers drawn with the Socialist, incorrectly implies that, therefore, the Socialist is wrong and the clergy right. Advanced in the "easy, conversational way," that the Boston "Post," which reports Father Gasson's address, reports the Father to have spoken, the proposition seems to have been uttered with the assurance that are uttered propositions which need not challenge refutation, seeing they are so undeniable as never to have been denied.

The facts in the case are all the other way.

Of course, the condition of the working class, in countries and regions where the Roman Catholic polity has lost almost all, if not all the hold it once had, that is, the countries dominated by the capitalist polity, is far from desirable; it may even be designated as horrible. It may even be granted that, all things considered, the sufferings of the working class are in such countries worse than, in many respects, they were before. This by no means proves the clergy the champion of Labor.

The philosophy of history teaches that suffering is not the staff by which to gauge a people's status on the scale of progress. Socialist science points out that, in all likelihood, the Hottentot suffers less than the Russian peasant; the Russian peasant less than the workers in the German Empire; the workers in the German Empire less than their fellow proletarians of Great Britain; the proletariat of Great Britain less than their fellows in the United States. Nevertheless, the status of Labor in the United States is superior to what it is in Great Britain; in Great Britain superior to what it is in the German Empire; in the German Empire superior to what it is in Russia; in Russia superior to what it is in Hottentotia. Why? For the reason that in Hottentotia social conditions are at the bottom of the ladder; several rungs higher in Russia; many more rungs higher in Germany; perceptibly higher still in Great Britain; highest of all in the United States—hence affording to Labor a nearer and better opportunity to cast off all social suffering. As the Daily People has more than once pointed out, when Fred Douglas, shortly before his death, stated that the condition of his race, the Negro, was then tangibly worse than when still slave, he probably

stated an actual truth, but certainly a sociologic untruth. Each social stage has sufferings peculiar to itself, and the sufferings in the higher may be peculiarly more trying than the sufferings in the lower—as happens with higher organisms in biology. All the same, the Negro, as wage-slave, enjoys a status superior to that of chattel-slave. The very fact of being so much nearer, indeed, within reach of actual freedom, affords the wage-slave Negro fruitions not imaginable to the chattel-slave.

Of course, as stated before, the conditions of Labor are actually horrible under the capitalist polity; may be, as before stated, these conditions inflict upon Labor sufferings that are intenser than those endured under the Roman Catholic polity. The test of championship of the cause of Labor is not a comparison of Labor conditions under the two polities. The test is the activity or non-activity of the clergy in raising Labor up the ladder to the point of total emancipation. What was that activity? The answer that history makes is diametrically the opposite of Father Gasson's proposition.

William Cobbett's work upon the condition of the poor before and after the Reformation in England conveys information that Father Gasson may not gainsay, seeing the work earned for its author an autograph and complimentary letter from the then incumbent in the papal chair. Cobbett described how the mass of roving poor were, before the Reformation, taken care of by the monasteries, and how, after the Reformation, the monasteries having been sequestered with nothing to take the place of their benevolent work, the poor were left to the mercy of the elements, to starve and freeze. The championship of the

clergy is there exhibited as consisting in almsgiving—hardly a championship for the elevation of Labor.

Leaping forward to our own days, we find on page 127 (G. P. Putnam's Sons 1908 edition) of the Modernist Programme, issued by leading prelates of Roman Catholicism in point of intelligence and piety, but repudiated by the dominant chieftains of the Roman Catholic polity, the following tell-tale indictment:

"What sort of sympathy is she [the Roman Catholic Church or polity] to win from the best spirits of the age by these wretched remnants of a power she has lost, or by vain efforts to re-acquire it? What sort of a popularity can these dwindling and decrepit aristocratic oligarchies confer upon her which, in exchange for a little paltry grandeur would tie her to customs in open discord with modern tendencies? One thing we know, and we say it openly: we know that we are weary of seeing the Church reduced, for all practical purposes, to a bureaucracy jealous of its surviving scraps of political power and hungering to get back all it once had—to a group of idle men who, having dedicated themselves to a priestly and apostolic calling, and having afterwards attained the highest ecclesiastical grade, enjoy the most fabulously wealthy benefices as absentee incumbents. We are weary of seeing her reduced to a sterilized force, which, notwithstanding an apparent grandeur that wins the facile and unintelligent adulation of the multitude, acts as a brake on social progress";—hardly a championship that Labor can profit from.

Finally, coming to a category of facts taken from the immediate present, we see Labor in France, in Italy, in Portugal, and now in Spain also—all of these Catholic

countries—the instant it gains its voice, place the expulsion of monks and nuns, clergymen, generally, at the head of the list of their demands, ahead even of the demand for bread—a pathetic sight, on the part of those most intimately and long familiar with their championship by the Roman Catholic clergy.

Neither the allegation by Father Gasson in opposition to the Socialists and in favor of the clergy, as the fitter element for Labor's improvement, nor the placid confidence with which the allegation was made, is borne out by the facts.

XI.

STRUGGLE AS CHARACTER-BUILDER.

There remain, before taking up his concrete charges, three general propositions advanced by Father Thomas I. Gasson in his Boston anti-Socialist address. The three remaining general propositions differ from those hitherto considered in that they do not appear expressly stated, nevertheless they are felt to underlie the whole tenor of the Father's effort. They might as well have been stated expressly. They are, first, the theory that Struggle is requisite to develop character; second, that the Roman Catholic polity is entitled to unquestioning submission, having been tried by experience; and third, that it is as a moral force that the Roman Catholic Church takes the field against Socialism.

We shall to-day take up the first of these three implied propositions.

It is nothing new to hear Struggle advocated as a means

toward progress. In economics, the Manchester, or "laissez faire," school sets up the principle as a guiding star; and, in sociology, Herbert Spencer cracks up the principle as the source of all that is good, and the opposite as the source of all evil. Thus launched, the principle receives endorsement from a variety of other sources. The Pseudo-Darwinian maintains it as the foundation of biology; the capitalist asseverates it is the breath in his nostrils; every politician on the stump delights in singing its praises; last, not least, incumbents of pulpits, as appears from Father Gasson's address, "bless it with a text," expressed or implied. The principle, evidently, is one of universal—acceptance?—Let's see.

The Manchester School of Struggle, unguardedly, and forced thereto by the dominant demands of commerce, holds war as "next to pestilence."

Herbert Spencer, the "Scientific Apostle of Competition," fills up volumes upon the need of proper ethical schooling for children,—to cultivate the spirit of Struggle? No!—in order to eradicate from the children's minds and breasts the savage instinct of the savage for strife.

The pedantic Pseudo-Darwinian, full of what he loves to term "the austere character of Nature," when turned stock raiser, instead of affording his flocks and herds the amplest opportunities for struggle, guards them, not merely against danger from without but against conflicts from within their palings, "lest the breed suffer."

The capitalist—in the same breath that he proudly sets himself up as an exhibit of what "roughing it" does for a man, while the opposite breeds the helpless namby-pamby,—sees to it, with the aid of the best legal advice, not that

his wealth be left to the children of his worst enemy in order that they may become "helpless namby-pambies," but that his wealth be secured to those he loves dearest.

The politician's lips, from which but a minute before flowed a perfervid rhetoric in favor of the beatitudes that attend upon struggle, instead of intonating hosannas at tidings of a close vote, that is, at tidings that promise a prolongation of the struggle, pour out a steaming lava stream of curses at his —— —— bad luck.

Finally, most repulsively contradictory of all is the pulpiteer praise-singer of Struggle. To sing the praises of Struggle, in the same breath that one recites the imploration of Jesus to his father who is in heaven not to lead us into temptation, is a performance unmatched by the performances of Manchesterians, Spencerians, Pseudo-Darwinians, coarsest of capitalists, and ranting politicians rolled in one. Any of these may, but then only occasionally and in a moment of excitement, like Henry George when he as much as declared God to be a Single Taxer, claim to be the mouthpiece of the Deity. The pulpiteer makes the claim habitually. It is his profession. When, accordingly, a Father Gasson promotes, even by implication, the tenets of Manchesterians, Spencerians, etc., what he actually does is to demand that the Lord's Prayer be amended.

Not of universal acceptance, but of universal declamation on the part of the upholders of the capitalist system is the theory that Struggle is a character developer. With them it is a theory known by its breach not by its observance. The theory is preached by one and all as a narcotic to benumb the Working Class. Themselves, they treat the theory in a manner that Protectionist and Free Trade capitalists treat Free Trade and Protection—they all want Protection for the goods they sell, and Free Trade for the goods they buy.

Struggle, with its manifold manifestations of competition, strife, temptation, is not a character-builder; it is a character dwarfer.

XII.

FAILURE OF ROMAN CATHOLIC POLITY.

The second of the general propositions, not expressly stated, but expressly implied in the anti-Socialist address delivered by Father Thomas I. Gasson in Boston last February is the proposition that the Roman Catholic polity is entitled to unquestioning submission, being tried by experience.

There are propositions so glaringly untenable that their only chance of acceptance is to be advanced with what in gambling parlance is the "bluff." The present proposition of Father Gasson's is of that nature.

The Roman Catholic polity rejects the materialist conception of history. While the materialist conception of history plants society's social institutions, its practical, concrete conceptions of Right and Wrong, its judicature, its movements, etc., etc., upon material conditions, the Roman Catholic polity, in common with most other polities, makes the moral, or, call it the religious, sense the foundation of social institutions, and of all that thereby hangs. The practical bearing of the two propositions is of prime magnitude.

Proceeding from its premises that material conditions

are the foundation and the shapers of mass-conceptions of Right and Wrong, hence, of social institutions, Socialism deliberately withholds its efforts from preachments of abstract Right and Wrong, upon the principle that such preachments, being left without the material foundation without which they are impracticable, can only lead to failure, hence, to disappointment, and hypocrisy. The modus operandi of Socialism is, acordingly, to direct its efforts towards and center them upon bringing about the material conditions from which the mass-conceptions of Right and Wrong are not warped by material necessities. The Roman Catholic polity, on the contrary, proceeding from its premises that Right and Wrong are foundation principles, centers its efforts upon that, holding that Morality is above, and independent of, Matter.

Which of the two theories is correct?

It so happens that, if in this year of grace there is any question as to which of the two theories is CORRECT, the facts are too numerous and crushing to leave any doubt upon which is INCORRECT. These facts are furnished by the Roman Catholic organization itself.

Beginning with Father Gasson, what is that he says in his address under consideration? Let's see. Almost the very opening sentence of the Father's address is the following: "There are colossal fortunes and there are depths of poverty. There are those who know not what to do with their wealth, and those who have to cry out for a mere pittance only to keep body and soul together." The picture drawn by Father Gasson is true to life. Surely it is not overdrawn. And what is the tale the picture tells? What the sermon the picture preaches? It tells the tale

that an immoral state of things prevails to-day in society —notwithstanding fully a one thousand and seven-hundred years' application of Father Gasson's theory, during fully eleven hundred of which the Father Gasson theory was in complete, undisputed, supreme command. It preaches the sermon that there must be some serious flaw in the principle that Morality is above and independent of Matter.

But, perhaps, Father Gasson is of too low a rank in his hierarchy for his testimony to be controlling. Let us ascend the steps. What was it that Archbishop John Ireland said in the course of his address before the Creve Coeur Club of Peoria, Ill., on last Washington's birthday, that is, only a little over a fortnight after Father Gasson's Boston effort? He said: "Has the day come of such eminent prepotency of the principle of arbitration that a great nation such as the United States of America may safely turn all its swords into plowshares and all its spears into sickles? No one will make the affirmation." A companion picture to the picture drawn by Father Gasson is here presented by an Archbishop. The testimony of the Father is confirmed by one "higher up," one, moreover, who is a standing candidate for the Cardinalate. Nor does the tale told from the canvas of Archbishop Ireland, and the sermon that canvas preaches merely re-tell the tale and repreach the sermon told and preached by Father Gasson's. So far, the tale and sermon give testimony to a principle the opposite of Morality's being above and independent of Matter in the present and the past. The Archbishop went further than that on the occasion of his last Washington's birthday address. After attesting to the immoral state of things now prevailing the world over, the Archbishop pro-

ceeded: "No, the day of assured and lasting international peace has not arrived—*if ever ambitions and pride of nation permit it to arrive.*" Not in the present and the past only, after the more than a thousand years trial, has Morality disproved its independence from and priority to Matter, the Archbishop correctly foresees its disproval in the future.

And, should even an Archbishop's testimony be deemed insufficient, let us climb to the top of the ladder and place the Pope himself in the witness stand at the bar of the philosophy of history. Bemoaning the loss of its temporalty, and stating the reason for its striving to recover the same, the papacy itself announces that "without its temporal power, it can not attend to its spiritual functions," and the argument is echoed and re-echoed everywhere, here and abroad, by the upholders of the Roman Catholic polity. Temporal powers are material, spiritual functions are moral.[1]

From top to bottom, and from bottom to top, the spokesmen of the Roman Catholic polity testify with facts and reasoning to the incorrectness of their own, the theory that Morality is above, or even independent of Matter.

The materialist conception of history may or may not be true. However that might turn out to be, and it will subsequently be taken up, the more than millenary test of the opposite, the Roman Catholic polity's conception stamps it false—wholly unentitled to submission, unquestioning submission least of all—entitled only to rejection.

[1] "Tis ever the same with this mankind.
The spirit you've ready to own with your lips,
but in fact nothing counts that your fists can not handle.
—Ibsen in Peer Gynt.

XIII.

ROMAN CATHOLIC HIERARCHY A POLITICAL, NOT A RELIGIOUS FORCE.

The letter of a Spirit Lake, Ida., correspondent who writes:

"I would like to see a definition of the 'Roman Catholic political organization.' What is the qualification for its membership?"

arrives in time, just as we are about to consider the third of the general propositions implied, and last of the general propositions advanced by the Jesuit Father Thomas I. Gasson in his February 5 Boston speech against Socialism—the implied proposition that it is as a moral, as a religious, force that the Roman Catholic Church takes the field against Socialism.

Our correspondent's closing question was an inspiration. It materially assists in framing the definition he requests, and, at the same time, refuting Father Gasson's contention.

Everybody knows that the name "Republican," assumed by the party of President Taft, has no bearing upon the principles of its membership: high tariff, colonies, imperialism, all of these leading policies of the party are nothing peculiar to republicans: monarchists there are who pursue the identical policies. Everybody knows that the name "Democratic," assumed by the party of Bryan, has no bearing upon the principles of its membership: low tariff, free trade, anti-colonial policies, reciprocity agreements, etc., etc., are no peculiarities of democrats: oligarchs there have been and are that hold the same principles high.

Whatever the origin of political names, parties of long standing reach a stage when their names cease to be anything but mere terms for the collective designation of the party's members, the same as the names of individuals—many a Long, unquestionably a name that orginally fitted its bearer, is a short man; many a Small a tall man; many a Black a man of white complexion; many a White is often hard to distinguish from one of colored ancestry. So with the modern political organization known as "Roman Catholic."

Originally, at a time when, with local Jewish exceptions, the devotional type of all civilized lands was Roman Catholic, the political organization named Roman Catholic derived its name from the devotional preference of its members. The fact that the one-time distinctive feature of the members of the Roman Catholic political organization, to wit, their devotional convictions, no longer is the feature of the membership of the modern body, is a fact pregnant with meaning. Roman Catholic devotional convictions no longer are the distinctive qualification for membership in the Roman Catholic political body. This one-time prerequisite has been gradually wearing out. It was no longer in force at the age of the Medicean popes, these themselves being adepts at speculative philosophy on divinity, if not actual atheists. To-day the membership of Roman Catholic political bodies is composed, not merely of devout Roman Catholics and of men who are Roman Catholic by profession only, but also of Jews, of Protestants of all the "57 varieties," and of atheists of Roman Catholic, Jewish and Protestant extraction. Tammany Hall in this city is a type of the modern Roman Catholic political body.

Such a composite membership, composite on the very held from which the Roman Catholic political organization originally chose its name, pointedly points to the fact that devotional conviction was not of the essence of the body even at its inception; that the name "Roman Catholic" was a chance designation; and that the accidental circumstance, which originally determined the designation, having worn off in the course of time, the name is now left a mere "loose fit." A further evidence of this evolution in the composition of the Roman Catholic political machine is furnished by the sight of the majority of the adherents to the Roman Catholic form of worship being, not within, but without the Roman Catholic political organization, and, in notable instances, its foes. Modern Italy, France, Portugal, the bulk of the Latin American republics—all of these Roman Catholic countries—illumine the point by their pronounced and successfully maintained attitude of "No politics from Rome."

Seeing that Roman Catholic devotional conviction is anything but the essence of the Roman Catholic political body, what is the common bond that holds together its membership of so many "religions" and "anti-religions"? In other words, what is its essence?

'Tis not the wild-eyed Anarchist alone who sweepingly denounces as "devilish schemes" all modern social institutions upon the ground of the harm that these are seen to work. The Anarchist spirit that prompts such sociologically shallow reasoning animates many others who are otherwise mentally well balanced. Among the institutions thus shallowly denounced as "devilish schemes" is the Roman Catholic political organization.

The men whom the philosopher Auguste Comte refers to as the organizers of what has become the Roman Catholic political body were no fiends, intent upon evil. As with religions, none of which teaches immorality, so with political bodies. The Roman Catholic political machine is no exception. The loftiest of purposes animated its construction, and may not, even to-day, be denied to many of its leaders. That purpose was to secure the welfare of the peoples, the peace of society.

The Roman Catholic political machine was organized at a season when Greek and Roman civilization, together with the power for social order that they imparted, had crumbled to ruins, and simultaneously hordes of barbarians inundated Europe. Aiming at social peace and popular welfare, the founders of the Roman Catholic polity grappled with the problem before them. Unfortunately for the human race the sociologic premises from which these well-meaning men proceeded were of the falsest. The principle thus evolved was radically wrong. What was that principle?

It may be reduced to a mathematical formula, presentable in simple figures:—

Say, society consists of 100 adults, male and female. Of this number, so the formula runs, fully three-fourths, 75, are unfit for self-rule, or self-government. They must be rendered harmless to themselves, and to others. The remaining 25 are, to various degrees, fit for self-government, or rule. But the full number is not needed, 5 will suffice. What shall be done with the superfluous 20? Their ambition will push them to enter the circle of the select and elect. Left to themselves these 20 will work as much mischief as "The 75," if left to themselves. The alternative is, either social disorder, or the incapacitating of "The 20," along with "The 75," from participation in rule. There being nothing else to do, the methods adopted to render "The 75" harmless to themselves and to society, must be the methods applied to "The 20"—DIG OUT THEIR BRAINS—destroy their individuality and self-reliance. To use sociologic terminology, the social system aimed at by the founders of the Roman Catholic polity was the paternal system, with the masses of the population held in the status of wards to a select few. The title of "Father," given by the Roman Catholic polity to its officers, and reappearing in the title of "Pope" [from "papa," father] accurately reflects the paternal spirit of that governmental system.

Thus, receiving the propelling impulse for its supposed necessity from its barbarian and dominant surroundings, was launched the Roman Catholic political system, an institution that became, as it could not choose but become, the scourge of man while it held power; and that to-day, crippled though it is by advanced enlightenment, continues a hindrance, if not a menace to Progress.

The principle, laid bare by the above mathematical formula, is the essence of the Roman Catholic political organization. That is the bond that holds together its present membership, however heterogeneous in point of "religion" and "anti-religion." No longer limited to the one and only method for the BRAINS-OUT-DIGGING process available at its birth, the Roman Catholic political organization now utilizes, as occasion may prescribe, besides its original, the numerous new methods that the changed

times render available. The methods have been improved, by enlarging the repertoire, to suit both the "religious" and the "irreligious" tastes of the present conglomerate membership of Jews, Protestants, Catholics and Atheists; the purpose has remained the same.

The Roman Catholic ecclesiastical affiliates of the present non-sectarian Roman Catholic political organization tire not of repeating: "The Roman Catholic Church never changes; as it is now it ever was." This is a prevarication. The meaning intended to be conveyed is that devotional Roman Catholicism is perpetual—this is false—devotional Roman Catholicism has undergone many and radical changes. What these ecclesiastics have in mind, as a mental reservation, is the Roman Catholic political organization—that has not changed—its principles and purposes are to-day what they were from the beginning.

In sight of the above historical review, and keeping in mind that, while men of evil purposes gather in all political bodies, evil is not the purpose of these bodies, but good, "good" understood by such light as they have, the definition of the Roman Catholic political organization can be best drawn up by the following bird's-eye view of the political field:—

On the political field of the land there are three leading political groups—all three non-sectarian:

The Republico-Democratic group which holds that the people's welfare depends upon conserving things as they are. This is the conservative element.

The other two leading groups are both revolutionary, both holding that as things are they should not, and can not remain—

One of these two is the Socialist group, which endeavors to push society onward by popular enlightenment. This is the progressive-revolutionary element;

The other is the Roman Catholic group, which strains to pull society back by "digging out the brains" of "The 75" and of "The 20." This is the reactionary-revolutionary element.

Not as a moral force, but strictly as a political force, does the organization, for which Father Gasson takes the stump, enter the field against Socialism, hence against all other political parties in this and other lands.

XIV.

ABOLITION, NOT LESSENING OF POVERTY.

Having considered and disproved all of the expressly expressed and expressly implied general propositions that Father Thomas I. Gasson advanced against Socialism in his Boston, February 5, address, the field is now clear for the consideration of the Father's specific assertions. This we shall now do in six successive articles.

When reading Father Gasson's statement that "the great aim of Socialism is to lessen poverty" one wonders what syndicated, ephemeral, superficial magazine article the Father derives his information on Socialism from.

Socialism and the idea of "lessening poverty" are contradictions in terms. If the best that could be done with poverty was to lessen it, Socialism would lack foundation, at least sociologic foundation. Socialism's aim is, indeed, great; the aim, however, is not to "lessen," it is to "abolish" poverty, that is, involuntary poverty.

Social science establishes that, one time, the poverty of some was necessary to social progress. That was the era when the productivity of labor was so slight that a sufficiency, let alone an abundance, for all was impossible. A sufficiency for all being impossible there was no alternative other than either for society to remain in general poverty, with the evil train thereof—a brute's existence, spent in grubbing for the necessaries of life, constant want, the greater evil of constant fear of worse want, and no time for mental and spiritual expansion;—or for some to be steeped in poverty while others, a minority, being freed from the curse, could expand mentally and spiritually, and thus uplift society as a whole. So long as society was at that stage of production the abolition of poverty was an idle dream—a regretable state of things, yet not an immoral seeing that a better state of things was materially impossible. The only thing then possible was the "lessening" of poverty, or, to speak more precisely, the mitigation of the ills entailed by poverty—a reform, not a revolution, as the abolition of poverty implies.

A child of the materialist conception of history, modern Socialism denounces the past no more than it denounces the incapacity of Franklin to reach England on one of his trips as fast as was desired—the material, physical means were not then in existence to prevent either undesirable thing. A child of the materialist conception of history modern Socialism first ascertained the material possibilities of our age. These, being found to establish the material foundation for the aspiration to abolish poverty, modern Socialism steps forth boldly, crystallizing the one-time idle aspiration into a political, a revolutionary demand,

To-day, the excuse, the apology for the involuntary poverty of a single member of society exists no more. Material conditions have changed so radically that, so far from insufficiency, there is to-day the material possibility of abundance for all. The mechanisms and the methods of production are such to-day that the leisure, the freedom from arduous toil for the necessaries of life, the emancipation from the clutches of the Fear of Want, all of these prerequisites to mental and spiritual expansion, one-time enjoyable but by some, are to-day possible to all. To-day—all statistical researches combine to demonstrate—man can have an abundance at his disposal with no more exercise of physical energies than is requisite for health.

Under such material social conditions, Socialism spurns the goal of "lessening poverty" as a miserable Reform, as a betrayal of Man's opportunity and duty. Under the present material social conditions Socialism boldly seizes the Archangel's trumpet, boldly places it to its lips, and boldly sounds the call for human redemption—the call for Revolution—the call for the ABOLITION OF POVERTY.

XV.

COMPETITION AND EMULATION.

That Socialism would do away with "human incentive" was one of the direct charges made by Father Thomas I. Gasson in his Boston address of last February.

Already we have demonstrated in a previous article of this series that, if, indeed, Socialism made against incentive, the charge came with poor grace from the lips of an

upholder of capitalism—an incentive destroyer. Over that field we need not go again. Neither is it here necessary to enlarge upon the droll sight of a preacher of the gospel of the meek and lowly Nazarene holding the language of "the survival of the fittest." This article will dislodge the Jesuit Father and his Jesuit charge with a front attack.

"Incentive" is no technical term. It means different things in different mouths. In the mouth of the Anti-Socialist the word is used in one sense, and is meant to convey another sense. In the mouth of the Anti-Socialist, by "Incentive" is meant "the father of Competition," but the meaning that the term is meant by him to convey is "the father of Emulation." Thus the Anti-Socialist juggles with words. His purpose being to uphold an evil —"Competition"—, he shields the evil with a good— "Emulation."

What is Competition? What is Emulation?

An illustration will define the two terms.

Consider a mining camp—say, Bret Harte's "Roaring Camp."

At Roaring Camp each man's hand was raised against all others' throats. Not a member of the camp but was a walking arsenal of pistols, bowie-knives and daggers, ready for instant use. Between these men and their savage ancestors of some 20,000 years before there was only one difference—a difference great, no doubt, as the forward march of many thousand years was bound to bring about —it was the difference of Association. While 20,000 years earlier the ancestors of those men, that is, the ancestors of us all, were at the race's infancy, hence, truly individualists, each pursuing individualistically his own individual

purposes; hence, while 20,000 years earlier the capabilities of their ancestors were still fettered, 20,000 years later, at Roaring Camp, their capabilities were unfettered to the extent that they practised the elemental collectiveness of Association. This was progress, however rudimentary. For the rest the men at Roaring Camp remained savage, that is individualists. Competition, in all its pristine purity, was their rule of conduct. Conditions decreed the rule. As children of the 19th Century, the men of Roaring Camp could not wholly relapse into savagery. The march of the race had purged them of the race's original Individualism sufficiently to cause them to hold together in community; nevertheless, the material conditions into which the rush for gold threw them in the early days of the Far West, counteracted the progress of the Ages upon them to the extent of wiping out the veneer with which the civilization of the Eastern States covered and covers to-day the rawness of that lingering feature of savagery —Competition. Each sought to outwit, to circumvent the other; to "get there." He who did not compete to the full extent of the occasion was left behind; he who did survived. The misfortune of one was the opportunity of others; and the opportunity had to be and was seized. Such is the law of conduct decreed by the Facts that compel a struggle for existence.

Thus stood and ran things at Roaring Camp when its "Luck" was born; and when, what with the simultaneous death of the one woman in the camp and the sight of the helpless babe, the semi-savage men were transformed. Competition ceased instanter. Did those men collapse like so many dish-clouts? Did the death of Competition sig-

nify the simultaneous death of Incentive? Far from it. Incentive remained and immediately manifested itself in manner and style in keeping with the transformation wrought in the men. The place of Competition was taken instanter by Emulation. The former semi-savages thenceforth vied with one another in works of kindness.

It matters not that the transformation of Roaring Camp was a purely local, sporadic, exceptional sentimental event. Even without the torrential rains that poured down the hills and swept Roaring Camp out of existence, the place could not have long survived. The vastly more torrential stream of capitalism would have done its work, sooner or later. Nevertheless, the experience of Roaring Camp points the moral.

Competition is an evil. Like slavery, which was harmful to the slave-holder and the slave alike, Competition injures him who practices it, and him upon whom it is practised. Emulation is a blessing. Like mercy, that blesseth him that gives and him that takes, Emulation ennobles him that indulges it and all with whom it is indulged.

Incentive is not to be judged by its offspring Competition—the child begotten from the mother of material hardship, of precarious living, of the Struggle for Existence, in short, of the brute's condition. The same father also begets another child—Emulation—a child begotten from the mother of material well-being, assured existence, abundant production, in short, Socialist existence.

XVI.

THE STATE.

In his February 5 Boston address against Socialism, reported in the Boston "Post," Father Thomas I. Gasson said:

"The Socialism of which I speak is that economic social theory which wishes to place the ownership, production and distribution of all goods in the hands of one body, the State. The great authors of the system of Socialism of which I speak are Karl Marx, Engels and others."

At another place in his address Father Gasson stated: "I was intending to read citations from several socialistic authors, but unfortunately my eyesight is bad"; and the report in the "Post" adds in parentheses: "Father Gasson had the works of several socialistic authors on the desk."

It was a fortunate and far from an unfortunate circumstance for Father Gasson that the bad condition of his eyes prevented him to read from the "socialistic authors" whose works he had before him on the desk. Had the Father's eyesight been good, and had he started to read from those works, he would then and there have become acquainted with Socialism. Aquaintance with Socialism would have informed Father Gasson that "State Ownership, Production and Distribution of All Goods" and "Socialism" go together as nicely as "Father-Gassonism" and "Darwinism," or as Roman Catholic politics and Socialist politics.

It is not because "State Ownership" is a bad, or an undesirable working system of society that "Socialism" is not

"State Ownership." "Socialism" is not "State Ownership" for the simple and sufficient reason that "State Ownership," as a working system, is a sociological impossibility. Had Father Gasson taken the pains to post himself on the terminology that he uses, had he, for instance, acquainted himself with Lewis H. Morgan's "Ancient Society," Father Gasson would have known what the term "State" means in ethnology, and he would have been saved the blunder of imputing "State Ownership" to "Socialism." At any rate, neither Marx nor Engels held any views of the sort imputed to them in the Father's address—far otherwise, and to the contrary.

For instance, in Engels' "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science"—a work prized and praised by Marx—this passage occurs under the heading: "The State Dies a Natural Death":

"By urging more and more the conversion of the large, already socialized means of production into State property, it [capitalism] points the path for the accomplishment of this [the Socialist] revolution. The proletariat seizes the machinery of the State and converts the means of production first into State property. But, by so doing, it extinguishes itself as proletariat; by so doing it extinguishes all class distinctions and class contrasts; and along with them, the State as such. The society that existed until then, and that moved in class contrasts, needed the State, i. e., an organization of whatever class happened at the time to be the exploiting one, for the purpose of preserving the external conditions under which it carried on production; in other words, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited class down in that condition of subjection—slavery, bondage or vassalage, or wage-labor—which the corresponding mode of production predicated. The State was the official representative of the whole society; it was the constitution of the latter into a visible body; but it was so only in so far as it was the State of that class which itself, at its time, represented the whole society: in antiquity, the State of slave-holding citizens; in the middle ages, the State of the feudal nobility; in our own days, the State of the capitalist class. By at last becoming actually the representative of the whole social body, the State renders itself superfluous. So soon as there is no longer any social class to be kept down; so soon as, together with class rule and the individual struggle for life, founded in the previous anarchy of production, the conflicts and excesses that issued therefrom have been removed, there is nothing more to be repressed, and the State or Government, as a special power of repression is no longer necessary."

Shallow thinkers of imperfect information fall into the error of concluding that Socialism is Anarchy. Vastly shallower must that thinker be, and vastly more imperfect his information, who, flying to the opposite extreme, would take Socialism to be State Ownership. Father Gasson stated that the authors of the Socialist system which he meant were "Karl Marx, Engels and others." Guess it must be "others," and those others not Socialists.

XVII.

MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

In a way, it should seem superfluous to take up here the defense of Materialism, one of the features of Socialism that the Jesuit Father Thomas I. Gasson rebuked in his Boston, February 5, address. The exposure made of the opposite theory in the twelfth article of this series might be deemed a sufficient demonstration of the correctness of the materialist philosophy. Nevertheless the demonstration having been negative, having consisted only in exposing the untenableness of the opposite philosophy, a positive, direct demonstration is demanded by the weightiness of the subject. If one of two disputants maintains that $2 + 2 = 16$, it does not follow that the demonstration of $2 + 2$ not making 16, is equivalent to the demonstration of the proposition that $2 + 2$ make 36, which may be advanced by the other disputant.

The materialist philosophy is not a deduction from assumed premises. It is the induction from facts carefully ascertained and construed together. These facts history furnishes in abundance. They leave room for no alternative other than either reject the facts as false, an impossible thing; or, accept the materialist conclusion to which these facts point. From the inexhaustible quarry of historic facts a few leading ones will suffice.

The sense that involuntary poverty is an evil to him who is afflicted therewith is found in all literature, and in all ages. The sense of the evil has affected people in two

ways. What those ways were is typified by the best types of the people differently affected. Isaiah and Plato may be taken as the oldest types of one set; Aristotle and Xenophon as the oldest types of the other set.

The set typified by Isaiah and Plato undertook to remove the affliction of involuntary poverty, then and there. Their reasoning was that, involuntary poverty being an evil, the moral sense must revolt against it; and, seeing that morality could not bide by the sufferings of mankind, all that was needed was to render man moral. A quickened morality was to establish paradise on earth—Isaiah's "Kingdom of the Lord of Hosts," Plato's "Republic."

The set typified by Aristotle and Xenophon looked upon involuntary poverty as an evil, but a necessary, an unavoidable evil. The Aristotelian passage, cited by Marx, —"If every tool, when summoned, or even of its own accord, could do the work that befits it, just as the creations of Daedalus moved of themselves, or the tripods of Hephaestos went of their own accord to their sacred work, if the weaver's shuttles were to weave of themselves, then there would be no need either of apprentices for the master workers, or of slaves for the lords"—this passage strikes the key-note of the reasoning of this set.

There is not on record, in the history of intellectual development, another instance of an error of judgment embodying a truth of such colossal proportions as the error which the Aristotle-Xenophonian school uttered in the passage cited above. There is no other instance of error big with such constructive powers. The Aristotle-Xenophonian school looked upon involuntary poverty as unavoidable because the tool did not move of itself. Under such

mechanical conditions, the alternative was—either economic dependence, that is, involuntary poverty, for all, with leisure, hence, the opportunity for intellectual expansion for none; or, economic dependence, hence, involuntary poverty with its train of sufferings for the masses, and the consequent economic independence for some.

The Aristotle-Xenophonian school grasped the sociologic law that decreed intellectual progress. Pardonably unable to project itself into the future so far ahead as the time when mechanical conditions would be so radically revolutionized that the "weavers' shuttles would weave of themselves," this school considered slavery, which meant labor and poverty, to be unavoidable. By so doing the Aristotle-Xenophonian school planted itself upon material conditions as the prime factor to determine social institutions and morality. The fruitfulness of their posture is inestimable.

In the first place, it was a shield against wishes that were impracticable. The Isaiah-Platonian school, by aspiring and grasping at a goal for which society afforded no material foundation, led from disappointment to disappointment, and finally to the psychologic spot where the road forks—one road striking in the direction of extreme Reaction, to a frame of mind in which the well-spring of lofty sentiments is dried up, and the masses are looked upon as brutish herds, who get no worse than they deserve when starved or beaten over the head into quiet; the other road striking in the direction of Hypocrisy, the original sentiments being preserved only in phrases, while actual conduct is hard to distinguish from Reaction—each of the two roads being worse than the other.

In the second place, the Aristotle-Xenophonian school furnished the key to the successive correction of whatever principle, which, however correct at one time, time may subsequently have rendered incorrect. By subjecting Aspiration to Material Possibilities, the key furnished by this school opened the portals for loftier and ever loftier sentiment in the measure that Aspirations, once lacking material foundation, were furnished with the same by the material conquests of advancing society, and things once held impossible, had become accomplished facts. The passage from Aristotle cited by Marx contrasts the two schools, and it illustrates the incomparable superiority, moral and material, of the Aristotle-Xenophonian posture over the Isaiah-Platonian.

The Aristotle-Xenophonian is the Materialist Philosophy.

The Materialist Philosophy subordinates the Heart to the Mind. By so doing, the Materialist Philosophy is the Guardian of Social Morality.

Mass-humanity, the facts of history demonstrate, ever adapts its moral conceptions to its material needs. The Anti-Materialist does not, and can not escape that law of human action.

The Anti-Materialist not only cripples himself, he injures society. By expecting universal Good Will, the application of the Golden Rule, in short, ideal morality under conditions in which for instance, "the weavers' shuttles do NOT weave of themselves," the Anti-Materialist renders himself stone blind to the advent of the material conditions when "the weavers' shuttles DO weave of themselves." Expecting the impossible, the Anti-Materialist

impedes the inauguration of the possible. The consequence is inevitable. It is seen in the fact of the churches, the centers of Anti-Materialism, being filled with Reactionists and Hypocrites.

The Materialist, on the contrary, ever adapting Aspirations to Material Possibilities, never can inflict upon society the alternate and double injury of promoting Reaction, or Hypocrisy, or both. The highest possible Ideal that material conditions afford he stands for—none beyond that. Where material conditions,—as, for instance, when the mechanical appliances for production are so rudimental that the abundance needed for the welfare of all is a physical impossibility—his Mind will curb the beatings of the Heart, and he will abstain from preaching the New Jerusalem. He knows the deep morality of the warning against the shouting of "Peace, peace, where there is no peace," and the deep damnation of the practice. On the other hand, when material conditions have so improved —as, for instance, when the mechanical appliances for production have reached the present stage of perfection that an abundance for all is possible without arduous toil —then will the Materialist's Mind give full rein to the throbbings of the Heart, and he will proclaim the advent of Man's terrestrial wellbeing. He will do so because aware of the deep damnation of upholding "War, war, when there can be peace," and the lofty morality of insisting that there be "Peace, peace when there can be peace."

Being the carrier of the highest Morality, Socialism is Materialist, Materialism being TRUE, Anti-Materialism FALSE, and false pretence.

XVIII.

MARRIAGE.

Not all the baits, dangled by the agencies of capitalism, can lure the Socialist away from the field of Socialism into fields other than Socialist. Nothing would suit these agencies better than to have the Socialist—like a bull, which, closely pressing the toreador in the rink, is drawn away from his prey by the waiving of a red rag before his eyes—quit the capitalist trail on which he is camped, and pursue some will-o'-the-wisp or other.

There are two of these will-o'-the-wisps that rank highest in the estimation of capitalist agencies as fittest to lead Socialist discussion off into the air, or down into the swamp. The two lures are "Religion" and "Marriage."

As to religion, previous articles of this series have demonstrated Father Gasson's organization to be not religion at all, but politics, rawboned and rampant, ambushed behind the word of "religion." Seeing religion is a private affair and that the Socialist demands from others, for his private preferences, the same respect that he accords to their private preferences in the matter, the subject needed and needs no further treatment. As to marriage the matter is less simple.

"Marriage," in this discussion partakes of the feature of "Religion" in so far as it forms not, and can not form, any part of the Socialist program. Differently, however, from "Religion," "Marriage" is an ethnic institution; and as such it is subject to scientific treatment—no less and no more so than biology, astronomy, geology, or any other

scientific subject. The Socialist, being a scientist, is unaffected by the bogey that alleged religionists à la Father Gasson, set up to combat Science, and the hocus-pocus that those same elements seek to substitute for scientific discussion.

It is a significant fact that the institution of "Marriage," as at present understood and seen,—that is, a sexual relation requiring certain formalities, civic, and religious, so called,—no sooner springs into existence than it casts its shadow of "Prostitution."

Chemistry teaches that the sediments left in the retort are important to the knowledge of the substances that are freed. The sediment of "Prostitution," found in the retort of society, is an illuminer of "Marriage." Upon this subject the estimate of Lecky is classic:

"There has arisen in society a figure which is certainly the most mournful, and in some respects the most awful, upon which the eye of the moralist can dwell. That unhappy being whose name is a shame to speak; who counterfeits with a cold heart the transports of affection, and submits herself as the passive instrument of lust; who is scorned and insulted as the vilest of her sex, and doomed, for the most part, to disease and abject wretchedness and an early death, appears in every age as the perpetual symbol of degradation and the sinfulness of man. Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue. But for her, the unchallenged purity of countless homes would be polluted, and not a few who, in the pride of their untempted chastity, think of her with an indignant shudder, would have known the agony of remorse and of despair. On that one degraded

and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains, while creeds and civilizations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people."

The loftiness and even poetic tone of the principal feature of the passage do not detract from its scientific soundness.

"Marriage," taking the term broadly, is a regulator of sexual intercourse. As such Marriage has its early beginnings in the gens formation of society—a formation that received its earliest impulse from experience regarding the harmfulness of promiscuity. The gens formation prevented the evil through the provision that forbade intercopulation in the same gens. In that stage in man's history "Prostitution," as the institution has become and is known to-day, did not exist. The fact of "Prostitution's" arising with the more modern institution of "Marriage" is evidence unerring that "Marriage," as now understood, was a perversion of the course of Nature and of Society. What the reason, or cause of the perversion was, sociology explains.

"Marriage," as now understood, is one of the manifestations of "class" divisions, and consequent Class Rule. The sentiment of love—an acquired sentiment in the course of the race's development, and source of noblest, altruistic impulses—that sentiment, on the one hand, and class-tyranny and class-subjection on the other, are incompatible. The institution of Divorce—a counter formality—is a clumsy remedy for the evils of a clumsy institution. Like Laws of Bankruptcy, Laws of Divorce tell the tale of society's economic ill-being. The one and the other, being the re-

flexes of economic changes, can not choose but share the fate of these, changing with these for the better, or the worse, according as economic conditions should improve or deteriorate. For the same reason that deteriorated economic conditions gave birth to Laws of Bankruptcy, and these laws are bound to become obsolete under improved economic conditions—for the same reason Laws of Divorce will cease with the economic conditions that shall render them unnecessary,—and along with them must vanish "Marriage," the formal institution that now it is, taking away along with it, its execrable shadow of "Prostitution."

The natural necessity of sexual intercourse is a material fact which resists the attempts of all Father-Gassonic incantations to wrench it from its nature and setting. How futile all such attempts have proved is attested by the scandals that periodically break out in monasteries—outraged Nature breaking through the bonds of man-made pressure in the diseases known to medical jurisprudence as "nymphomania" and "satyriasis." A further and more recent attestation is furnished by the Rome correspondent of the London "Daily Chronicle," who recently telegraphed to that paper: "The Vatican has ordered the Bavarian Episcopate to proceed with the greatest severity against the movement among Catholics in that country for the suppression or alleviation of the rigors of sacerdotal celibacy. According to official information furnished to the Pope, an association founded with this object already counts 13,000 members, many of whom are themselves ecclesiastics." ("Converted Catholic," for April 11, 1911; page 124.)

On the other hand not all the "Free Lovers'" excesses, that blind resistance to the prostitution-producing class-

rule perversion of sexual intercourse, known in the Political Social order as "Marriage," can breed, can throw discredit upon the purity, loftiness and wisdom of the family when emancipated from the shackles of economic ill-being.

As set forth in his preface by the translator of Bebel's "Woman Under Socialism":

"The monogamous family—bruised and wounded in the cruel rough-and-tumble of modern society, where, with few favored exceptions of highest type, male creation is held down, physically, mentally and morally, to the brutalizing level of the brute, forced to grub and grub for bare existence, or, which amounts to the same, to scheme and scheme in order to avoid being forced so to grub and grub —will have its wounds staunched, its bruises healed, and, ennobled by the slowly acquired forces of conjugal, paternal and filial affection, bloom under Socialism into a lever of mighty power for the moral and physical elevation of the race."

XIX.

SOCIALISM.

The two correspondents—the gentlemen who furnished us with clippings from the Boston "Post" of February 6, containing the report of the Jesuit Father Thomas I. Gasson's Anti-Socialist address, delivered in that city on the previous day, and who, while considering Father Gasson's words the word of God that "nailed the un-Godly teachings of Socialism," yet, with tell-tale inconsistency, challenged refutation—the two gentlemen have been accommodated in the preceding XVIII articles. For the greater edification of the challengers, who, we hope, have "learned some-

thing," the series may now be completed with a succinct presentation of Socialism.

Socialism is the synthesis of two sets of laws, one economic; the other sociologic.

The leading economic law that carries Socialism in its folds is the Law of Value—Value in Exchange.

The Law of Value establishes that the standard by which goods are exchanged is the amount of labor-power crystallized in them, and socially necessary for their production.

From the Law of Value flow two others, corollary to it, under the system of the private ownership of the necessaries for wealth production, that is, the Capitalist System:

The first corollary is that the articles of merchandise turned out by the operator of superior capital, being more numerous and turned out with less expenditure of labor-power than the articles of merchandise that are turned out by the operator of inferior capital, drive the latter out of the market. To illustrate:

If at a given time the machinery (capital) for producing calico enables each operator to produce 10 yards in 12 hours, and the same amount of labor-power produces 4 bushels of potatoes, then the calico and the potatoes will exchange in the market at—

10 yards for 4 bushels.

If the machinery, operated by one of the operators, has improved and it turns out 20 yards in 12 hours, then the exchange in the market will be—

20 yards for 4 bushels,

consequently, the operators operating the same machinery

as before will have to exchange in the market their

10 yards for 2 bushels.

If the machinery, operated by that one of the operators, improves so much more that it turns out 100 yards, then the exchange in the market will be—

100 yards for 4 bushels,

with the consequence that the operators who have none but the old style machinery to produce with are compelled to exchange in the market their

10 yards for only 4/10 of a bushel.

In this progression is read, on the one hand, the finish of the small producer, and, on the other, the concentration of capital, in short, the Trust, that contrivance of production that turns out the largest number of useful articles with the least possible expenditure of human labor. Against this progression all "Sherman Anti-Trust Laws"; all "Interstate Commerce Laws"; all Supreme Court decisions, with or without the application of the "Rule of Reason," are as effective as the noise of tin kettles to affect sun and moon eclipses.

The second corollary to the economic Law of Value is that the workingman, the proletarian, the man wholly without the necessaries for production, is lowered to the status of merchandise, to be bought and sold in the Labor Market under laws identical with those under which all other merchandise is bought and sold. In that economic law is read the inevitable decline of the human factor in production. In view of that fact no "Labor Law" enacted by the Capitalist Class can bring redress, on the contrary. The main effect of such laws, unless quickly followed up with revolutionary moves, is to perform the part of social

parachutes—they render the decline slow, unperceived, gradual, yet nevertheless steady, and, therefore, all the surer and more baneful.

The sociologic laws, which merge with the economic laws just outlined are:—

1. The trend of society is to produce with ever increasing abundance and decreasing human exertion, so as to insure to all the material necessaries of life to the end that the race be raised above the level of the brute, and of the brutifying compulsion of toil for bare existence.

2. The material means toward that consummation is the ever more perfect tool of production. In the measure that the tool is perfected the goal is reached. The Trust is, mechanically, the most perfect stage yet reached by the tool.

3. The process of the perfection of the tool compels co-operative labor to an ever widening extent.

4. The tool of production is the weapon of Man against Slavery. Without the tool Man is Nature's slave. In the measure that the tool improves, the intensity of the slavery declines.

5. The mere existence of the tool does not bring about Man's emancipation from the bondage of material necessities. The perfected tool only brings about the potentiality of Man's emancipation.

6. Toolless Man being the slave of Nature, it follows that the tool having come into existence, the toolless individual becomes the slave of the tool-holding individual. That is Capitalist Society.

7. The nature of the tool dictates the system of its ownership. The collectively operated tool must be owned collectively.

8. The social system pivoted upon the private ownership of the collectively wielded weapon of production is reflected in the "political system" of government.

9. The "political system" of government is a system of oppression—the oppression of the slave by the slave-holder.

10. So long as the tool is not perfect enough to be able to accomplish its emancipatory function, the slave-holder and slave, or the Classes, are inevitable. All efforts—whether sentimental, or blindly rebellious,—to remove or even mitigate the evils of such a social system are vain. In the measure that the emancipatory possibilities of the tool ripen, the strain of the Class Struggle is intensified and social discontent increases and takes organized shape.

11. Social Discontent is the badge of a Subject Class. When the subjection is no longer a social necessity, that Class is ripened into a Revolutionary Class.

12. The economic laws which decree the fated bankruptcy of the small holders and their fated conversion into proletarians, fated under capitalism to the status of merchandise, together with the sociologic laws that cluster around and flow from the tool of production, determine at once the structure of the revolutionary organization and its goal.

From the synthesis of these laws, or be it their convergence, arises Socialism—a revolutionary social movement, which, taking evolution by the hand, eliminates the economic and political ills that to-day afflict society.

In other words, Socialism is the logical sequence of economic and sociologic development. It is the movement which overthrows the Political State; rears the Industrial

State in its place; harmonizes the system of ownership with the collective system of operating the plants of production; and abolishes economic, the foundation of all slavery.

Such being the material basis of Socialism, the Socialist Movement is the sole one that furnishes the foundation and shelter for the loftiest aspiration of the loftiest minds of all Ages—the Brotherhood of Man.

END OF
TITLE